

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 072294
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:WSHINN, JR.
APPROVED BY EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN
S/S:RGAMBLE
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
EUR ONLY

-----020251Z 022205 /62

P 020133Z APR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 072294

STADIS////////////////////////////////

EXDIS -EYES ONLY FOR THE AMB FROM ACT. ASST. SEC. LOWENSTEIN

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SOPN, NATO

SUBJECT: "SILVER BOWL" ADDRESS

1. I HAVE CAREFULLY GONE OVER THE TEXT OF YOUR PROPOSED
DRAFT. THERE ARE A NUMBER OF PASSAGES WHICH STRIKE ME AS
IN CONFLICT WITH THE ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY. IN
DESCRIBING THEM I ASSUME THAT I HAVE THE SAME TEXT OF THE
SPEECH THAT YOU DO, SO THAT I CAN USE THE PAGE NUMBERS
FOR REFERENCE. - -

2. THE CENTRAL THEME OF THE "GLOBAL RETREAT OF THE WEST"
ON PAGES 4 AND 5 CONTRADICTS THE BASICALLY OPTIMISTIC
STATEMENTS OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE SECRETARY. IN HIS
INAUGURAL ADDRESS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PRESIDENT SAID: "THE
PASSION FOR FREEDOM IS ON THE RISE...TAPPING THIS NEW
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 072294

SPIRIT THERE CAN BE NO NOBLER OR AMBITIOUS TASK FOR US TO
UNDERTAKE ON THIS DAY OF A NEW BEGINNING THAN TO HELP
SHARE A JUST AND PEACEFUL WORLD THAT IS TRULY HUMANE."
IN CITING THIS PASSAGE TO THE NATO COUNCIL ON JANUARY 24,
THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID: "THERE IS ALSO A NEW FAITH IN
THE STRENGTH OF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, A
NEW WILLINGNESS TO MEET CHALLENGING AND CONTINUING

RESPONSIBILITIES ABROAD." THE VICE PRESIDENT WENT ON TO SAY: "I SHARE THE CONFIDENCE OF PRESIDENT CARTER THAT

TOGETHER WE WILL BE EQUAL TO THE TASKS OF THE FUTURE." NOWHERE IN THE STATEMENTS MADE BY MEMBERS OF THE NEW ADMINISTRATION CAN THE SPENGLERIAN CHARACTERIZATION OF THE STATE OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION BE FOUND THAT IS IN YOUR SPEECH.

3. ANOTHER SPECIFIC POINT IS YOUR ASSERTION AT THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 4 THAT WESTERN "CONCEPTS OF POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY AND INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM HAVE BEEN LOSING CURRENCY." IN HIS SPEECH AT THE UN, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT: "I SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD, A WORLD DOMINATED BY INCREASING DEMANDS FOR BASIC FREEDOMS, FOR FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS, FOR HIGHER STANDARDS OF HUMAN EXISTENCE."

4. THE ILLUSTRATIONS YOU GIVE ON PAGE 5 OF THE DECAY OF THE WEST'S GLOBAL POSITION SUGGEST THAT COLONIALISM WAS A GOOD THING. IT IS CERTAINLY NOT US POLICY THAT THE INDIAN OCEAN SHOULD BE A "WESTERN LAKE." IN FACT, WE ARE SEEKING TO DEMILITARIZE THE AREA.

5. YOUR VIEW OF THE SOURCES OF SOVIET CONDUCT BEGINNING ON PAGE 6 IS NOT REFLECTED IN STATEMENTS BY ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN. I ASSUME THAT IT IS BASED ON LENIN'S MONOGRAPH. "IMPERIALISM THE HIGHEST STAGE OF CAPITALISM," WRITTEN IN 1916. OUR SOVIET EXPERTS COMMENT: "IT IS TRUE THAT LENIN'S ANALYSIS SUPPORTS SOVIET TROUBLEMAKING IN THE LESS-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 072294

DEVELOPED WORLD AS A MEANS OF AGGRAVATING 'CAPITALIST CONTRADICTIONS.' HOWEVER, THIS HAS NOT BEEN A CONSISTENT OR OVERRIDING THEME IN SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WENT INTO ECLIPSE AFTER STALIN'S DEBACLE IN CHINA IN 1927 AND ESPECIALLY AFTER THE SIXTH COMINTERN CONGRESS UNTIL 1935. IT WAS SIMILARLY NOT A PROMINENT ELEMENT OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY FROM ABOUT 1947 UNTIL 1955. SINCE THEN IT HAS BEEN REVIVED TO A CERTAIN DEGREE AND WAS FORMALIZED IN THE LATE 50'S IN THE 'THEORY OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STATE.'

FINALLY TO ARGUE THAT TURNING THE NON-WESTERN PEOPLES AGAINST THE WEST IS THE BASIS OF SOVIET EXPANSIONISM LEADS TO THE FALSE ASSUMPTION THAT NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE NOT INDIGENOUS OR JUSTIFIED IN AND OF THEMSELVES."

6. ON PAGE 7 YOU SAY: "THERE IS NO PRECEDENT FOR A WORLD POWER RENOUNCING VOLUNTARILY ITS IMPERIAL

ASPIRATIONS." BUT HASN'T THE UNITED STATES DONE PRECISELY THAT?

7. THE THEORY OF "PROXY WARS" HAD CURRENCY IN THE DULLES

ERA WHEN IT WAS APPLIED TO KOREA. I CANNOT ACCEPT YOUR ARGUMENT THAT THE CONFLICT IN INDO-CHINA WAS INSPIRED BY THE SOVIETS AS A MOVE AGAINST THE WEST, AND I DO NOT THINK THAT THIS IS THE ADMINISTRATION VIEW.

8. WHEN YOU SAY THAT MAOISM IS NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH EAST-WEST DETENTE, IT DOES NOT FOLLOW THAT THIS IS THE RATIONALE OF DETENTE FOR THE SOVIETS. IN FACT, THERE HAVE BEEN SHARP IDEOLOGICAL AND PRACTICAL DISPUTES BETWEEN MOSCOW AND PEKING ON THIS VERY POINT.

9. I HAVE NO QUARREL WITH YOUR THESIS THAT THE SOVIET CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 072294

UNION IS NOT A STATUS QUO POWER ALTHOUGH I THINK THIS POINT IS SUBJECT TO LEGITIMATE ARGUMENT. AS PER YOUR ASSERTION THAT THE USSR'S "PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE" IS TO "REDUCE THE WORLD'S AREAS UNDER THE WESTERN WRIT," OUR SOVIET EXPERTS SAY: "SINCE THE DEBATE BETWEEN STALIN AND TROTSKY IN THE 30'S, THE PRINCIPAL SOVIET OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO STRENGTHEN THE USSR AND GUARANTEE ITS SECURITY."

10. ON PAGE 9 YOU CRITICIZE "THE RHETORIC OF SOME OF OUR PUBLIC MEN." I DO NOT KNOW WHO YOU MEAN BUT THIS COULD BE TAKEN AS CRITICISM OF THE ADMINISTRATION. FURTHER, THE "CONVERGENCE" THEORY WHICH YOU CLAIM THEY ESPOUSE HAS ALWAYS HAD ONLY LIMITED ADHERENCE IN ACADEMIC CIRCLES AND I AM UNAWARE OF ANY MEASURABLE SUPPORT FOR IT WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT.

11. ON PAGE 10, OUR SOVIET EXPERTS COMMENT: "RUSSIAN CONTACTS WITH THE WEST WERE EXTENSIVE EVEN IN THE TENTH CENTURY DURING THE KIEVAN PERIOD, AND WHILE THEY WERE ECLIPSED BY THE 240 YEARS OF TARTAR RULE THEY RESUMED UNDER IVAN THE GREAT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. PETER THE GREAT ENGAGED IN WESTERNIZATION ON A MASSIVE SCALE, CATHERINE BROUGHT THE FRENCH ENCYCLOPEDISTS TO THE RUSSIAN COURT AND MODERNIZATION OF RUSSIA BEGAN IN EARNEST AFTER THE REFORMS OF 1861 AND 1864. THUS, THERE IS NO REASON TO ASSUME THAT RUSSIA IS CONDEMNED FOREVER TO BE AN AUTOCRACY. FURTHERMORE, RUSSIA IS ONE OF THE FEW MAJOR NATIONS OF THE WORLD WITH WHICH WE HAVE NEVER BEEN AT WAR. THE GREATEST THREAT TO WESTERN DEMOCRACY IN MODERN TIMES WAS POSED BY A COUNTRY THAT WAS NEVER CUT OFF FROM

WESTERN DEVELOPMENTS--NAZI GERMANY."

12. TO SAY THAT "DETENTE IS ANOTHER BATTLE WON ON THE LONG ROAD TO COMMUNIST VICTORY," AS YOU DO ON PAGE 11, IS IN DIRECT CONTRADICTION WITH CURRENT POLICY. IN HIS
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 072294

SPEECH AT THE UN THE PRESIDENT SAID: "I BELIEVE THAT OUR

COMPETITION MUST BE BALANCED BY COOPERATION IN PRESERVING PEACE, AND THUS OUR MUTUAL SURVIVAL. I WILL SEEK SUCH COOPERATION EARNESTLY AND SINCERELY."

13. AT THE BOTTOM OF PAGE 12 WHERE YOU PRESCRIBE REMEDIES FOR US FOREIGN POLICY STATING, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT ITS PRIORITY SHOULD BE THE "DEFENSE OF THE WEST" AND BE IN THE "COLLECTIVE INTEREST OF THE WEST," THE IMPLICATION IS THAT OUR CURRENT POLICY FALLS SHORT. FURTHER, ON PAGE 13, WHERE YOU SAY: "OUR LEADERS NEED TO STATE WITH CANDOR THEIR UNDERSTANDING OF WESTERN NECESSITIES," THE IMPLICATION SEEMS TO BE THAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS BEEN LAX IN THIS REGARD.

14. ALSO ON PAGE 13 YOU STATE THAT THE SOVIET PURPOSE IS "THE DESTRUCTION OF THE WEST," THAT THE SOVIET "FUNDAMENTAL OBJECTIVE" IS "THE EXACT OPPOSITE OF OURS" AND THAT "NO AMOUNT OF DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY AND RHETORIC WILL MAKE IT GO AWAY." THIS IS CERTAINLY NOT THE CONCLUSION DRAWN BY THE NEW ADMINISTRATION WHICH SEES SOME MUTUALITY OF INTEREST BETWEEN US AND THE SOVIETS AND WITH REALISM AND CAUTION SEEKS TO REACH VERIFIABLE AGREEMENTS IN OUR COMMON INTEREST. AT THE UN THE PRESIDENT SAID: "I SEE A HOPEFUL WORLD." HE CALLED FOR AN END TO THE ARMS RACE AND SAID: "WE CAN ONLY IMPROVE THIS WORLD IF WE ARE REALISTIC ABOUT ITS COMPLEXITIES." LATER HE ADDED: "THE SEARCH FOR PEACE REQUIRES A MUCH MORE DELIBERATE EFFORT TO CONTAIN THE GLOBAL ARMS RACE." ALL OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENTS ON ELIMINATING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, ON CTB, ON THE INDIAN OCEAN, AND ON NON-PROLIFERATION ARE BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT "DIPLOMATIC DEXTERITY" MAY YET HELP US TO SURVIVE. WHERE, ON PAGE 14 YOU ASSERT THAT: "IF IT WILL NOW BE FEAR THAT WILL BRING US TOGETHER, SO BE IT," YOU SEEM TO
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 072294

WELCOME TENSION AND CONFRONTATION. FURTHER, WHAT "RECENT

EVENTS" DO YOU HAVE IN MIND THAT HAVE SHOWN OUR "INABILITY TO PERCEIVE AND TO MEET IN COMMON A CHALLENGE THAT THREATENS TO OVERWHELM" THE WESTERN PEOPLES?

15. ON PAGE 15 THE ASSERTION THAT THE WEST HAS NOT "FOUND ITS WAY TO COLLECTIVE SECURITY" STRIKES ME AS AN EXAGGERATION. THERE IS NO INCLINATION ON THE PART OF THIS ADMINISTRATION TO "STATE URBI ET ORBI THE WEST'S PREDICAMENT."

16. YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT THE IDEA OF A NEW WISE MEN'S STUDY HAS BEEN CONSIDERED AND DECIDED AGAINST AT A HIGH LEVEL HERE.

17. IN ORDER TO PROTECT YOU FROM CRITICISM AND TO AVOID ANY CONFUSION IN THE MINDS OF YOUR COLLEAGUES ON THE EVE OF THE SUMMIT AND NATO MINISTERIAL, I HOPE THAT YOU WILL LET US REVIEW THE REVISED TEXT OF YOUR FAREWELL ADDRESS. EVEN THE FATHER OF OUR COUNTRY SHOWED HIS DRAFT TO OTHERS.

18. WARMEST REGARDS AND BELATED BIRTHDAY GREETINGS.

CHRISTOPHER

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, TEXT, SPEECHES, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, AMENDMENTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 02-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE072294
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: WSHINN, JR.
Enclosure: ST IS A HR ALSO
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770113-1079
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770496/aaaadfff.tel
Line Count: 249
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 49868bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS, ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 21-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2920143
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: \"SILVER BOWL\" ADDRESS
TAGS: SOPN, US, NATO, (STRAUSZ-HUPE, ROBERT), (LOWNENSTEIN, JAMES G)
To: NATO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/49868bab-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009